BOSTON UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL

Thesis

HOSTOS AS A PHILOSOPHER

by

José Emilio González

(A.B., University of Puerto Rico, 1940)

submitted in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts

1941

Approved by

First Reader. Edgar S. Brightman
Professor of Philosophy

Second Reader . . . . . Earl Marlatt
Dean of the School of
Theology

2. REVIEW OF LITERATURE CONCERNING THE PROBLEM

Very little has been written in English or in French about the different aspects of the life of Eugenio María de Hostos. The literature that deals with his philosophical expression is still more limited. During the period of his life no reference to him in United States or France as to his ideas has been available although he lived in both countries.[1] No American philosopher seems to have known him.

In chronological order the first reference to which the writer came across is a brief, expository review of the Tratado de Sociología by an unknown author, dated 1905, in an American magazine.[2] The article is a short résumé of the main theses of the book without critical analysis.

One of the best discussions of the thought of Eugenio María de Hostos may be read in a book written by a South American of the beginnings of the twentieth century who published it in French. He claims for Hostos the second place among the South American philosophers:

> Aprés Bello,[3] le plus remarquable des philosophes sudaméricains est Eugenio de Hostos, né en 1839. Il n'est pas

---

1. See biography, infra, pp. 27-32.

2. The Outlook, Art.(1905). For further information see bibliog., infra, pp. 84-86.

3. Andrés Bello, Venezuelan diplomat, writer, philologist and philosopher, born in 1781, died in 1865.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

During the past three years there has been a slowly increasing movement in the United States towards a deeper understanding of the Spanish American peoples. Today the interest in their culture is high. Critical investigation into the nature of that culture is most needed if the English-speaking world is to have an exact knowledge of it. Among the outstanding marks of an advanced degree of civilization in a race the appearance and development of philosophical thought has a significant place. An individual who devoted large part of his life to philosophy was Eugenio María de Hostos. A study of what he thought may help in the understanding of the Spanish American mind.

1. THE PROBLEM

The main purpose of this thesis consists in the investigation of the possible contributions made by the thought of Eugenio María de Hostos to philosophy and the influences that he acknowledges on the part of other thinkers.

> seulement un expositeurdes théories étrangères, il a son système à lui qu'il développe dans des ouvrages remarquables: c'est un moraliste plutôt qu'un metaphysicien. . .[4]

He devotes one or two pages to a schematic discussion of the moral ideas in the thought of Hostos. His conclusions are that, "On pourrait dire de sa philosophie que c'est un rationalisme optimiste."[5] García Calderón ends his comment by indicating possible influences on the philosophy of Hostos:

> Cet optimisme ne rappele-til pas la morale de Spencer, l'éthique rigoureuse de Spinoza ou la pensée de Cournot, 'la base philosophique de la morale est l'idée de conformité a l'ordre universel'?[6]

This is by far the best estimation this writer has found about Hostos in English and in French. However, articles recently published on Hostos by able writers of North and South America reveal an increasing grasp of the nature of the thought of Hostos.

Prior to the celebration of the Hostosian centenary a number of writers discussed Hostos in a more or less schematic way. Alfred Coester emphasizes the patriotic and educational phases of the life of the Puerto Rican thinker.[7] Otto Schoenrich in his book Santo Domingo, a Country with a Future also underscores the pedagogical work of Hostos, specially in the Dominican Republic, and declares that:

> This remarkable man was one of those talented dreamers produced by Latin America, a lover of the abstract ideal in

---

4. García Calderón, DLA, 250.
5. Loc. cit.
6. Ibid., p. 251.
7. Coester, LHSA, 442-443.

government, philosophy and pedagogy, erudite, eloquent. . .[8] Nothing of what he says has a direct bearing on the thought of Hostos. Such is the case with Samuel Guy Inman who praises the multifariousness of the life of the Puerto Rican. Inman is hardly a critical sceptic. He praises Hostos exaggeratively:

> Another one of those marvelous brains that accomplished an unbelievable amount of work and whose influence radiated to every corner of the Spanish-speaking world. . . Here is one of those Latin geniuses that seem to be capable of doing any amount of intellectual work in any number of different spheres.[9]

Carl A. Kelsey in a survey on the Dominican Republic indicates briefly the importance of the educative reforms of Hostos in that nation.[10] Isabel Sharpe Shepard wrote a biographical sketch of the life of Hostos based on "excerpts from Rufino Blanco Fombona's Grandes Escritores de América."[11] Although she does not inquire into the character of the ideas of Hostos, she acknowledges that, "He was a philosopher and a sociologist, an eminent critic, and also wrote an occasional novel."[12] Moreover she asserts that, "Hostos was an original and careful thinker. . ."[13] She thinks of his main characteristics as three represented in his being, ". . .patient, conscientious and logical."[14] Mary Wilhelmine Williams in her book on education in the Dominican Republic makes a passing allusion to the influence of Hostos on

---

8. Schoenrich, SDC, 198.
9. Inman, PPA, 27.
10. Kelsey, Art.(1922).
11. Shepard, Art.(1925).
12. Ibid., p. 566.
13. Ibid., p. 567.
14. Loc. cit.

the pedagogical reforms of that country.[15]

It is another South American writer, Carlos Pereyra, who in an article on Hostos in the Encyclopedia of Social Sciences tries to expound the most important lines of his philosophy. He defines Hostos as a sociologist and an aducator. Pereyra affirms that Hostos

> . . .tried to found a new morality and sociology and evolved a complete sociological system. He regarded society as an organism which developed according to certain formulated principles and considered that the moral idea would ultimately triumph in accord with natural law. Morality was the basis of order and duty was the basis of morality.[16]

The views of Pereyra are adequate although not thorough; he has been able, nevertheless, to penetrate to the core of the position of Hostos.

Curtis A. Wilgus, American author and editor, mentions Hostos in relation to his labor in defense of the ideal of the unity among the greater Antilles. Wilgus briefly sketches the life of the Puerto Rican philosopher but he makes no important critical comment.[17] An interesting coincidence with the views of Inman is found when Wilgus says:

> De Hostos, was one of the Latin geniuses who seem to be capable of doing any amount of labor in any number of different spheres.[18]

The Dominican scholar, Pedro Henríquez Ureña, wrote the

---

15. Williams, PPL, 389-390.
16. Pereyra, Art.(1932).
17. Wilgus, CA, 67, 69.
18. Ibid., p. 69.

preface to the French translation of some essays of Hostos published by the Institut International de Coopération Intellectuelle. He compares Hostos to the great South American masters like Martí and Sarmiento. Ureña stresses the ethical aspect of the philosophy of Hostos:

> Pour ce penseur, tout a un sens éthique. Sa conception du monde, son optimisme métaphysique. . .est tout impregné d'éthique. L'harmonie universelle est à ses yeux une leçon du bien.[19]

The Dominican writer believes that in Hostos the love of the good surpassed the love of truth. Hostos preached, according to Henríquez Ureña, the worship of reason as this(reason)provides the foundation of morals. The good of humanity will be attained when the sciences of nature will discover truth. Ureña places Hostos in the tradition of Socrates and under the influence of the ethics of Kant. The judgments of Ureña are on the whole fair to Hostos although he sees too much of the merits of the latter and none of his defects.

José A. Fránquiz is a young Puerto Rican philosopher who has devoted special attention to the ideas of Hostos. Unfortunately his articles published in Spanish American reviews are in Spanish. Recently, a good summary of the contents of the Obras Completas of Eugenio María de Hostos, by Fránquiz appeared in Philosophic Abstracts.[20]

---

19. Hostos, ESS, 11.

20. Fránquiz, Art.(1940).

The latest bulletin of the De Hostos Centenary Commission includes a collection of articles and speeches by Spanish American and American authors.[21] These writers discuss various aspects of the life and ideas of Hostos. Muna Lee de Muñoz Marín in an address delivered before the delegates to the Biennial Congress of the World Federation of Education Associations underscores the trascendence of the pedagogical ideas and activities of Hostos. After indicating the features of the age in which he lived she marks as his outstanding characteristics ". . .a deep sense of the responsibilites of citizenship. . .an ardent belief in the dual necessity of liberty and education. . ."[22] This speech sets forth some views on the political ideals of Hostos but no thoroughgoing criticism is found in it.

A short article read by the writer of this thesis in Spanish appears in the above-mentioned bulletin in English; its author is Edgar Sheffield Brightman. The latter compares Hostos with Emerson, Alcott and Lincoln.[23] He declares that Hostos ". . .was a philosopher, a sociologist, a publicist and an educator. . .without question one of the truly great personalities of his age."[24] In Hostos he admires, (i)"His love of liberty. . ."[25], (ii)"his devotion to reason. . .joined to an unfaltering moral

---

21. Bulletin No. 12, titled: The Lima Resolution, the Essay on Hamlet, and other Papers published by the De Hostos Centenary Commision in 1940; lent generously to me by Dr. Edgar S. Brightman.

22. Marín, Art.(1940).

23. Brightman, Art.(1940).

24. Loc. cit.

25. Loc. cit.

idealism"[26] for ". . .Hostos was distinguished, like Kant and Fichte, for his insight into the unity of the theoretical and practical reason."[27], and (iii) "his fourth great trait, that of educational leadership. . ."[28] Brightman deplores that so little is known in United States about this great man. In his final paragraph he summarizes his conception of Hostos:

> Looking on these traits and on his life work as a whole, one is inclined to describe Hostos as a philosopher of personality. The dignity of free personality; the authority of rational personality; the perfection of moral personality; and the remaking of personality, individual and social, by a sound educational method--such was the theme and purpose of Hostos.[29]

This closely-knitted article is written from a sympathetic point of view. It is one of the best concise appraisals of the significance of Hostos in philosophy. Such statements as

> Knowledge about personality, its supreme value, its organic social cooperation, and its cosmic dignity,--this was the essence of the thought of Hostos.[30]

challenge the intellectual curiosity of the student of the Puerto-Rican thinker. However sympathetic the views of the writer of this paper might be to Hostos these conclusions cannot be accepted without systematic and intelligent discussion.

Pedro de Alba presents Hostos as a defender of civilization against barbarism and as ". . .a classic thinker and master of the best humanism."[31] He was not only a theoretical moralist;

---

26. Brightman, Art.(1940), p. 12. 27. Loc. cit. 28. Loc. cit.
29. Loc. cit. 30. Loc. cit. 31. Alba, Art.(1940), p. 20.

". . .ideas had to be set in motion, moral precepts had to be vitalized."[32] "He could maintain his moral principles with authority because his theories were reinforced by his acts."[33] Alba goes on to discuss the concepts of gratitude in the Moral Social but his comments are too sympathetic and vague. The author quotes Hostos extensively on different moral subjects. The essence of the position of Alba is that Hostos is a thinker of important ethical ideas. His conclusions is that Hostos is ". . .a symbol of everything noble and ideal to be admired in our America, a whole man, a hero of thought and action. . ."[34] This is one of the ablest articles published in English on the ideals of morality in Hostos; it has also the merit of being an effort to enable the American reader to understand the Spanish American mind.

The Mexican essayist, Mauricio Magdaleno, treats of Hostos as a the rational type of man which in Spanish America should be opposed to the mediocre ideologist.[35] Magdaleno sees in Hostos the messenger of the fundamental imperative to the leaders of America: "Teach the continent to think!"[36] In this article the literary standpoint is predominant over the philosophical. Like many other articles this one is weak in criticism. It is an attempt to define the intellectual message of Hostos to America.

---

32. Loc. cit. 33. Ibid, p. 21. 34. Loc. cit.
35. Magdaleno, art. (1940). 36. Ibid., p. 34.

This section cannot be closed without quoting a challenging paragraph for in it the effort towards the creation of a typical American conception of life can be perceived:

> The Puerto Rican was not a philosopher, for he created no system, built no ontological conception of the Universe, nor speculated in the field of philosophy; yet, in his own way--his American, prophetic, inspired way--he is the most significant spiritual milestone of American, a philosopher in the American way, an organizer of consciences.[37]

3. GENERAL PLAN OF THE THESIS

The program of this thesis divides the work into five main chapters. The first one is being completed in this section and consists primarily in the exposition of the problem and a short discussion of the literature available in English and in French dealing with different aspects of the ideas of Hostos.

The second chapter is to be concerned with the characteristics of the times during which Hostos lived. The historical background will be the central subject; the philosophical currents in Spain and Spanish America will be discussed. The last section will be a sketch of the most important lines in the life of Eugenio María de Hostos.

In the three remaining chapters the core of this thesis will be given. The third chapter will deal with those philosophers to whom Hostos directly or indirectly acknowledges indebtedness in the order of the importance and intensity of their influence

---

37. Ibid., p. 31.

on Hostos. The fourth chapter is to be an exposition as systematic as possible of the views of the Puerto Rican on social philosophy, logic, ethics, ~~ethics~~, etc. accompanied with brief comments. In the last chapter the problem of the contributions of Hostos to philosophy, the nature and value of those contributions if they exist will be discussed. The chapter will close with a summary synthesizing the main conclusions.

CHAPTER 2

THE BACKGROUND AND THE MAN

Two of the most important factors in the life of a man of thought are: (i) the historic scene in which he was an interested observer or perhaps an actor himself and (ii) the peculiar intellectual atmosphere of his age. It is impossible in the brief scope of this thesis to measure the influence of these determinant factors on the work of Eugenio María de Hostos but it is, as well, impossible to try to ignore them entirely. The limits of this thesis restrict the treatment to the most obvious features of his times, especially with reference to Spain and Spanish America, as points d'appui to a schematic biography.

1. SPAIN UP TO 1873

The dawn of the nineteenth century saw Spain fighting bitterly for her independence. The victorious Spanish arms aided by Wellington routed the Napoleonic invader from the Iberian peninsula. The nation started an adventurous century when the Cortes adopted in 1812 a liberal Constitution. In 1814 the king Fernando VII returned from exile and declared the Constitution null and void. Political unrest issued with frequent armed revolts until the army, the refuge of the liberals then, revolted

in 1820 under the leadership of Riego and obliged the king to swear the Constitution. The Holy Alliance sent the Duc D'Angoulême with an army into Spain and helped king Fernando to break again his pledge. Political persecussion against the liberals followed.

Among the young nobles who had accepted the liberal creed was José María Orense, Marqués de Albaida, who became the founder of the Republican Party. In 1832 a most important document was published, the Bases de una Constitución Política by Ramón Xauradó y Fábregas, which was to provide the fundamentals to the foremost political theory of the nineteenth century in Spain: federalism.

1833 saw the death of Don Fernando and the outbreak of the Cartlistas Warswhich bled Spain for long years. The Queen Regent María Cristina met with much political unrest. The Estatuto Real of 1834 signified a retrogression in the way of liberalism. After the Treaty of Vergara in 1839 Espartero became the most powerful figure in Spain. The Pronunciamiento of 1840 forced the Queen to resign her regency. Espartero succeeded her in 1841. His political ineptcy made him renounce in 1843; this same year Isabel became Queen.

The revolution of 1848 in France had repercussions in Madrid; the spirit of unrest continued even under the iron-fisted ministers Narváez and O'Donnell. The appearance of parties in the

political scene of Spain marked the channels through which liberalism was self-expressive. The Progressives appeared around 1812, the Moderates arose during the years 1820-1823, the Republican party blossomed with Castelar.

The liberal movement became more powerful day by day. Revolts, pronunciamientos and suppressions of liberty reveal the state of affairs. In 1854 O'Donnell staged a revolt. The Declaration of Manzanares undermined the position of the throne. Espartero was then the savior of the Queen.

1855 was a year of Republican and Carlistas revolts. The Cortes of 1856 issued a liberal Constitution only to be revoked the next year by O'Donnell. The War of Africa started in 1859 and terminated with a rapid victory for Spain in 1860.

Castelar published in 1848 the epoch-making Fórmula del Progreso in which the program of Spanish democracy was definitely proclaimed. The years 1860 to 1864 saw the precipitous succession of reactionary cabinets: O'Donnell, Miraflores, Mon, and Narváez. The liberals under the leadership of those bright personalities like Pí y Margall, Salmerón, and Castelar were undermining day by day the powers of the throne. On the night of Saint Daniel, in 1865, Hostos was among the group of excited commentators of the recent events in which students from the University of Madrid mutinied against the government for its undue intervention in University affairs.

The year of 1865 found Prim as the most powerful opponent to the dynasty of the Bourbons. In 1866 he lead the revolutionary Progressives and Democrats in two abortive revolts. As a result Castelar, Cristino Martos and other liberal leaders had to leave Spain. A reactionary period ensued. O'Donnell and Narváez, the two master royalist generals died in 1867. González Bravo became President of the Ministry: the incarnation of reaction. Republican activity continued through secret centros although the foremost Republican leaders were in exile. In Paris and London, Prim, Castelar, Ruiz Zorrilla, General Pierrad, Sagasta were actively organizing the Revolution of September.

Prim issued a manifesto to the nation early in 1868. In September 17 the revolution was initiated at Cádiz by Admiral Topete; the next day the nation read Prim's manifesto. The Revolution spread all over the nation. On September 29 Serrano defeatedthe Marqués de Novaliches at the Puente de Alcolea and opened the way to Madrid fro the victorious revolution. Queen Isabel left Spain for France on the thirtieth of September.

Among those who dethroned the Bourbon dynasty the Republicans were a minority. Most Progressives, Moderates and Democrats were royalist with liberal leanings. The temporary ministry of Serrano excluded the Republicans. A liberal program was, nevertheless, issued.

In the campaign for the election of the Cortes Constituyentes the Republicans advocated a federal republic. The Cortes

when elected had a good royalist majority. The Constitution of 1869 as established by the Cortes was very liberal in character. The conflict about the final form of government, federal republic or constitutional monarchy provided enough political dissension. The problem of the relations of State and Church was also a thorny question. The Republicans kept attacking constantly in the Cortes the monarchical principle. But Prim was really the leader of the Revolution and he was a royalist. The Cortes decided for a constitutional king. After some hesitation the crown was offered to Amadeo, Duque de Aosta and son of king Victor Manuel of Italy.

December 27, 1870 saw Prim assassinated in the streets of Madrid. Amadeo de Saboya was inaugurated on January 2, 1871. He had no backing and Spain was divided with murderous political strife. The Italian prince had to quit after two years of misery and humiliations. The trend toward the Republic became stronger day by day.

On February 11 of 1873 the liberal movement, that through the whole century had been struggling against the tyranny of the kings and their authoritarian ministers, achieved its culmination when the Republic was proclaimed by the Cortes.

The intellectual panorama of Spain during the nineteenth century if, perhaps, not so exciting as the political is much more interesting than that of the hundred years immediately f before. The eighteenth century marked a lull in Spanish cultural

life. The lonely voices of Larra, Feijóo and Jovellanos were heard as the only signs that the Spanish spirit was still alive.

The first new ideas to agitate the Iberian mind are of political nature. The contact with the French during the War of Independence arose the spirit of nationalistic liberalism which its channels of expression through the activity of the lodges.[38] The Constitution of 1812 is the first product of liberal thought in politics: the ideals of the French revolutionary thinkers were expressed forcibly in it. The new Spanish liberal leaders had studied philosophy in the universitis and represented the vanguard of the national intellectuality. Ramón Xauradó y Fábregas made a definite contribution to political philosophy with his doctrine of a federated republic in his book Bases de una Constitución Política (1832). This work and La Fórmula del Progreso by Castelar were the foremost written exponents of Spanish liberalism. Men like Rubio and Pí y Margall published books of controversy in which the latest developments of political thought were discussed.

The group of distinguished personalities which for a century illuminated the Spanish historic scene was composed of idealists nourished mainly in the fountains of German philosophy even if the original impulse was of French sources. In 1854 Pí

---

38. Brandt, TNS, 16.

39. Ibid., pp. 61, 120.

anticipated Proudhon with his doctrine of the federal pact.[40] Another important aspect of the political current of ideas was the introduction of socialistic and marxistic ideas in Spain. Pí was one of the radical exponents of the doctrine of individual autonomy. Castelar opposed Pí although he was himself an individualist himself. The Socialist trend was a powerful one. As a result of the introduction of these ideas Spain experienced its first strikes.[41] Organizations like the First International Workingmen's Association, Bakunin's International Fraternity, the Democratic Social Alliance were active in the spreading of socialists ideologies. But Garrido and Sentinon, the two most important leaders of the worker's movement, were no match for Castelar, Salmerón and Sagasta.

In the field of pure speculative thought the German influence followed the line Kant,Hegel, Krause.[42] A professor of the University of Seville, Contero Ramírez, introduced Hegel to Spain in 1850. Absolute idealism, however, did not attract very much the Spanish attention. Spanish Hegelians were Fernández y González, and Antonio María Fabié who translated from a French version the Logic in 1872. The influence of Hegel was rather weak although the idealism of Castelar and Pí had Hegelian roots.[43]

Kant's critical philosophy was known in Spain through

---

40. Brandt, TNS, 67.

41. Ibid.,pp.154-158.

42. Ibid., p. 6.

43. Anon., Art.(1925).

French sources in the beginnings of the nineteenth century.[44] Unfortunately this knowledge was defective. Not until the arrival of the Krausist influence and the broad criticism of P. Jaime Balmes Kant is fairly understood in Spain.[45] The second half of the nineteenth century saw an unusual number of translation of Kant. Professor Rey Heredia added to his Teoría Trascendental de las cantidades imaginarias(Madrid, 1865) some Fragmentos de la Lógica Trascendental. Gabino Lizárraga translated the Principios metafísicos del Derecho(Madrid, 1873). García Moreno, and Ruvira translated the Lógica(Madrid, 1875)from the famous version of Tissot.[46] Other translations of García Moreno, and Ruvira were: Fundamentos de la metafísica de las costumbres and Crítica de la Razón Práctica followed by Observaciones sobre el sentimiento de lo bello y de lo sublime(Madrid, 1876). The most scholarly and the best by far of all translations was that of José del Perojo who in 1883 started to publish the translation of the Critique of Pure Reason. The public saw only the first volume which was accompanied by Vida de Kant by Kuno Fisher and the latter's work: Historia de los Orígenes de la Filosofía Crítica. Perojo published a work on Kant titled: Kant y la Filosofía Contemporánea. Berzosa, another Spanish thinker published his Lecciones sobre la Filosofía de Kant. Salmerón was an expounder of Kant. Opposition was pre-

---

44. Anon., Art.(1926). 45. Ibid., p. 3339.

46. Loc. cit.

presented by Lloréns y Barbás but was not strong.[47] Kant was soon overriden by the inflowing surge of Krausism; it was not until the twentieth century that Kant attracted the attention of Spain through the influence of the schools of Marburg and Baden represented in the Spanish world by such scholars as Ortega y Gasset and Manuel García Morente.

The strongest philosophical influence of the century in Spain was that of Krausism.[48] Balmes in his Historia de la Filofía discussed Krause.[49] Navarro Zamorano published in 1841 Krause's Curso de Derecho Natural.[50] The German philosopher found his ablest exponent in Julián Sanz del Río. This young Spanish philosopher went to Heidelberg to study under the direction of Leonhardi and Rhoeder who taught Krausism there. In 1845, recently returned from Germany, Sanz del Río accepted the chair of extension of philosophy in the Central University of Madrid, but he resigned a short time after. In 1857 he was back again and the introduction of the new philosophy arose bitter oposition in reactionary circles for they saw in it a disguise for revolutionary ideas. Around him the Spanish teacher formed a group of intelligent disciples. The philosophy he taught spread all over Spain destroying the ramparts of scholastic traditionalism. In 1867 he lost

---

47. Anon., Art.(1926), p. 3340. 48. Anon., Art.(1926), De los Ríos, Art.(1927).

49. Anon., Art.(1927). 50. Ibid., p. 441.

his chair but having taught Giner de los Ríos, Azcárate, Castelar, Federico de Castro, Pí y Margall, Nicolás Salmerón how to think his works continued through the activity of his loyal followers.

The doctrine that Sanz del Río preached was an adaptation of the ideas of Krause which was called harmonism or Krausist panentheism.[51] The movement represented the strongest following Krause obtained in Europe; in Spain, however, it had more a cultural and ideological nature than philosophical or scientific.[52] An opposition which was more impassioned than coldly critical was represented by Orti y Lara, P. Ceferino González, Caminero, Menéndez Pelayo and others. In Sanz del Río the highest exponent of Krausism traces can be found of Schelling, Fichte and Hegel.[53] Sanz considered Krause a complement of Kant. Krausism was the form the Spanish mind adopted for its philosophical revival of the nineteenth century.[54] Its influence was important in the minds of those who established the republics of 1873 and 1931.

2. SPANISH AMERICA IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The incapacity of the Spanish colonial system, its despotic nature, the examples of the American and French revolutions, the ideas of the French revolutionary romantic philosophers and the social and economic instability of the Spanish American

---

51. Anon., Art.(1927), p. 441. 52. Anon., Art.(1926).

53. Anon. , Art.(1927). 54. De Los Ríos, Art.(1927).

communities were forceful reasons for the beginning of the movement that started by the rebellion of the Junta de Gobierno of Caracas in 1810 and was echoed immediately through America resulting in the eventual independence of those societies.

The revolutionary conflict sprang almost simultaneously in Venezuela and in Argentina in 1810. Paraguay through a bloodless revolution was free by 1811. The military campaigns of Bolívar did not liberate New Granada and Venezuela until 1819. Chile was freed by General San Martín in 1818. Colombia declared its independence by 1821. Ecuador in 1822. Bolívar liberated Perú in 1824. The year 1825 saw the foundation of Bolivia and the end of the war for the liberty of Argentina. Uruguay was free by 1828.

Bolívar, the greatest political figure of the beginnings of the century, tried to establish a confederation of South American republics but he failed. The urgent and tremendous problems before the leaders of the new born nations were superior to their capatcities; political strife, division and revolts were the ordeal of the young nationalities during the rest of the century.

In Venezuela a series of caudillos, military adventurers, petty rulers and dictators, preyed upon the national resources and perpetuating the anarchic situation menaced to throw the nation into chaos. Perú followed closely the same line although there estabilizing forces were present which formed the nucleus of resistance to the covetousness of the miliary clique. Internal division and strife were the order of the day. In the midst of

disgraceful social situations a war with Spain and an unfortunate coalition with Bolivia against Chile bred national disaster. It was not until 1872 that under the presidency of don José Pardo reforms in the administrative, educational and cultural spheres of the life of the country were seen. Unfortunately, the war with Chile in 1879 left again the nation in the hands of a reactionary like Piérola who continued the tradition of senseless revolts.

Chile did not fare better. The aristocratic classes soon had motives to plunge the country into a bloody Civil War. Liberal ideas slowly penetrated the people and gave rise to intellectual leaders. Intense political strife was also the fashion there but frequent liberal triumphs in the elections brought as a result reforms in which Hostos had a chance to participate.

Argentina was no exception in the record. The tyranny of Rosas, the long struggle between the Confederation and Buenos Aires, civil war raging over the country, the Paraguayan War under the presidency of the illustrious Mitre depleted the energies of the nation. Great intellectual leaders like Rivadavia, Mitre and Sarmiento brought the message of European civilization to the barbaric montoneras. The administration of president Sarmiento was a blessing to the country and Argentina saw a better day dawning under the Avellanedas and his successors.

By the final decades of the nineteenth century the Spanish empire retained only two colonies in America: Cuba and Puerto Rico. In both countries political unrest was characteristic. The effect

on the natives of European liberal ideas created a spirit of revolt against Spanish despotism. Cuba staged two revolutions of great importance during the century. Puerto Rico experienced an unsuccesful uprising in 1865. But in both countries the protest against Spain was outspoken and their leaders suffered all sort of persecussions and hardships in their search for the independence of the islands. It was in this ordeal that the character of two of the greatest Spanish-Americans; José Martí and Eugenio María de Hostos was forged. By 1848 there was a strong movement towards annexation to the United States in Cuba. General Tacón, the Spanish Captain-General, provoked the revolt of Narciso López that year. In 1868 a group of Cuban patriots proclaimed the independence of Cuba at Yara. The Ten Years War was ended by the Treaty of Zanjón which the soft-handed General Martínez Campos managed to sign with the weary revolutionary troops under the leadership of Maximiliano Cómez. The lull between 1878 and 1895 saw the appearance of a great apostle of the Cuban revolution, José Martí. Activity in the revolutionary juntas was feverish organizing the new outbreak with which was achieved finally the independence of Cuba in 1898.

Puerto Rico was in no situation to make a military effort against Spain. The Puerto Ricans had had to suffer the political tyranny of the Spanish governors but were able to make their protest known when they had the opportunity to send their deputies to the Cortes or by the voice of their exiled leaders.

Many distinguished Puerto Ricans devoted their lives to achieve the end of political liberty as a mean to the betterment of social conditions in the island. In 1898 an autonomical government was functioning in Puerto Rico when the American troops invaded the island on July 25 of that year.

The political thought behind the wars of independence in South America was the same behind the American and the French revolutions. Rousseau was worshipped in the Juntas Revolucionarias; he was the oracle of the day. The Enciclopédie was the counterpoint to this influence. French ideas were predominant all along the nineteenth century although they had to share their titles later on with English influence.[55]

The first years of independence saw the hegemony of political ideas. Philosophical thought, however, increased its influence as the years passed by. Cabanis and Laromiguière, the French ideologues, together with the Scottish common sense school of Reid and Steward appealed to the minds of such men as Ventura Martín and José Joaquín Mora in Chile, and to Alcorta in Argentina. Andrés Bello, the greatest South American man of thought of this century, followed the Scotch school of common sense. In Cuba, José de la Luz Caballero, continued the work of P. Félix Varela with an original philosophical strend and influences of English eclecticism.[56] Alberdi, the Argentine constitutionalist,

---

55. García Calderoń, DIA, 248.
_____, PI, 151.

56. García Calderón, op. cit. 152-153.

was influenced by English social and political thought.

Brazil made an exception: German thought dominated there. As against the political and social influences of France and the common sense school Tobías Barreto introduced the great German philosophers. Later on Barreto combined Comte's positivism with the monism of Ludwig Noiré.[57]

Up to 1875 French romantic thought reigned in the Spanish American mind. Soon the reaction against suicidal dogmatism, and empty rhetoricism took the form of an appeal to science, to the supremacy of reason in the new positivistic movement. Comte and Spencer found whole-hearted reception in America. The humanitarian religion of Comte and its possible application to the social realities of South America, the new philosophical method appealed powerfully to the Spanish Americans. The influence of Spencer was very strong. Silvio Romero was the exponent of Spencer in Brazil where the positivistic movement produced such figures as Benjamin Constant Botelho de Magalhaes, Oscar D'Araujo and Tavares Bastos.[58] Spencer's ethical theories were universally discussed although his psychology was not well known. The emphasis was on the moral and social aspects of his thought. Scholasticism was routed while the new movement produced thinkers like Cornejo in Perú, Bulnes in Mexico, Báez in Paraguay, Letelier in Chile, Ramos Mejía in Argentina.[59] The influence of positivism was

---

57. García Calderón, op. cit., 251. 58. García Calderón, DLA, 253.

59. _____, PI, 156.

particularly important in the pedagogical, political, and sociological aspects.

As a transition from positivism to the idealistic reaction the Cuban thinker Enrique José Varona combined Spencerian influence with ideas of Krause.[60] The idealistic trend followed the decline of positivism; it was of French brand: Fouillée, Guyau. From then on the new philosophical doctrines nourished the South American mind: pragmatism, Wundt, Croce, Nietzche, Bergson found a receptive thought and helped to the intellectual evolution of those countries.[61]

3. LIFE OF EUGENIO MARIA DE HOSTOS

To this world just described came on January 11, 1839 Eugenio María de Hostos near the city of Mayagüez, Puerto Rico. At the age of eight years he started his first education at the Liceo in San Juan. When about twelve or thirteen years old he sailed for Spain to finish his secondary education in the Instituto de Segunda Enseñanza of Bilbao. After he obtained his baccalauréat he made a brief visit to his native island and returned to Spain to study law at the Central University of Madrid.

In the capital of Spain Hostos initiated his literary and political career. There he published articles in the papers and made speeches at the Athenaeum of Madrid in defense of Cuba and

---

60. García Calderón, PI, 156-157. 61. _____, DIA, 256.

Puerto Rico. His votes were heard condemning the colonial system; condemning also the institution of slavery. Hostos published in 1883 this novel La Peregrinación de Bayoán as a protest against the political sit ation of the Antilles. He allied himself with the republican forces to help defeat the monarchy in the hope that a more liberal government would bring autonomy to the islands and the abolition of slavery. When the Republican leaders were exiled in Paris, Hostos accomplished dangerous missions for them. He did not finish his studies at the university due to his political activities. Although the Provisional Government promisedto the young leader an autonomical form of government for the Antilles neither it nor the Republic fulfilled their promises. From then on Hostos became a separatist, an advocator for the complete independence of Cuba and Puerto Rico.

By September 1869 he was in Paris; on October of that same year he was in New York trying to combine his efforts with the Cubans and Puerto Ricans who were exiled there. During one year Hostos was indefatigable in his efforts but seeing no prospectives of immediate success he left for South America in 1870. He visited Perú and Chile fron 1871 to 1873 as a propagandist. In those countries he interfered with the social problems always in defense of the interests of the people. Well known are the affair Meiggs, his campaigns in favor of the Chinese coolies and of the scientific education of women.

While in Santiago de Chile Hostos published several works such as Biografía Crítica de Plácido, La enseñanza científica de la mujer and the Juicio Crítico de Hamlet, which made him famous in the literary circles of the world. The last months of 1873 and the beginnings of 1874 found Hostos in Buenos Aires where he defended the project of the Transandean Railroad. In his trip to New York he made a short stop in Río de Janeiro. Back in New York on April, 1874 Hostos continued his activities. During his stay in South America his name appeared under articles in the leading papers.

In New York he directed La América Ilustrada and cooperated toward the success of the International Exposition of Chile. He visited in 1875 the Dominican Republic helping there the exiled Cubans and Puerto Ricans. The year 1876 found him in Caracas working always for the freedom of the Antilles. There he taught for the first time in a private college. Belinda de Ayala y Quintana became his wife in 1877. Hostos left Venezuela in 1878 for Saint Thomas where he received the news of the Treaty of Zanjón. The Puerto Rican propagandist ceased temporarily in his activities.

1879 saw Hostos arriving with his wife to Santo Domingo. Under his direction the Normal School was officially opened on February 1880. Despite opposition of reactionary enemies Hostos put into practice his ideas on education during nine years thus creating a generation of illustrious Dominicans. These were the

years during which Hostos wrote his fundamental works: Lecciones de Derecho Penal, Lecciones de Derecho Constitucional, Comentarios de Derecho Constitucional, Prolegómenos de Sociología, Tratado de Moral, Tratado de Lógica, Crítica Literaria, Ciencia de la Pedagogía, Historia de la Pedagogía. These works won the approval of the learnéd circles of the time.

Disgusted with the policy of Ulisses Hereaux, the Dominican dictator, Hostos, decided to accept the offer of President Balmaceda of Chile to teach there. The Puerto Rican educator was Rector of the Liceo de Chillán during 1889. The first class Liceo "Miguel Luis Amunátegui" was founded especially for him. During eight years Hostos lectured in the University, directedthe Liceo and taught his classesthere; his pedagogical methods became famous all over the nation. This period saw the publication of works as La Reforma de la Enseñanza del Derecho (in collaboration with V. Letelier and J. Bañados Espinosa), Descentralización Administrativa, Prolegómenos de Psicología and Prolegómenos de Ciencia de la Historia. The journals of Chile also published his articles.

When the Revolution of 1895 started in Cuba Hostos immediately resumed his workd of propaganda founding societies, organizing meetings, trying to win the approval of the public opinion of Chile. By 1898 Hostos was anxious to return to the Antilles with the hope of being of much more help in the

achievement of the independence of Cuba and Puerto Rico. He resigned his chair and left Valparaíso in April, 1898 for a long voyage.

Hostos was commissioned by the revolutionary councils of Chile, Perú, Colombia and Venezuela to contact the Junta Revolucionaria in New York in behalf of the freedom of Puerto Rico. The short war between United States and Spain was practically ended when Hostos arrived to New York. The invasion of his native land so near and being so imminent Hostos tried to obtain from the American government that a committee of Puerto Rican patriots accompany the troops but he failed. The occupation of the island already accomplished Hostos organized the Liga de Patriotas Puertorriqueños to rally the liberal forces of the country in an effort to obtain fair treatment from the American government.

Hostos presided the Puerto Rican commission that visited President Mackinley tracing a program of social reforms and suggesting a plebiscite to solve the political status of the island. The result was a failure. Almost completely disheartened Hostos returned to Puerto Rico in 1899 and participated in the establishment of the Instituto Municipal of Mayagüez.

The Dominicans had not forgotten their old teacher. In the name of his ancient disciples President Vásquez called Hostos to Santo Domingo. The Puerto Rican patriot was made General Inspector of Public Education in the Republic; as such Hostos gave

new life to the declining pedagogical system of the small Caribbean Republic. He promoted different and important laws creating schools and high educational centers. He wrote his Tratado de Sociología; he taught. In 1902 he was appointed General Director of the Normal Schools with the task of reorganizing them. The excessive work and his psychical depression due to the situation in Puerto Rico weakened his health. Hostos died in Santo Domingo the eleventh of August of 1903.

CHAPTER 3

PHILOSOPHERS WHO INFLUENCED HOSTOS

It is a commonplace in philosophy that no man's ideas are entirely his own. Thought is shaped and reshaped not only through the experience of everyday life, but also by contact with the intellectual heritage left by other thinking men. Originality is nothing more than the reorganization of inherited ideas into a new whole which results in a new meaning. It is the duty of the investigator to trace the main fluences in the work of a philosopher and to study his contributions to the field of thought. This chapter is an attempt to determine the range and importance of the influences acknowledged by Hostos as an indebtedness to other philosophers. It is difficult to follow a strict order; the criterion of subordination in this case has been: scope and depth of influences.

1. AUGUSTE COMTE (1798-1857)

Hostos gave a supreme position in modern philosophy to the founder of positivism. Witness to this are his sayings about Comte: ". . .The greatest of modern philosophers."62, "The most

---

62.". . .El más grande de los filósofos modernos." OC, XIX, 112. From now on all reference to the Obras Completas of Hostos will assume the form found in this footnote.

effective thinker of the nineteenth century. . ."[63]

The reasons for this are (i) that Comte was the discoverer of ". . .the <u>only</u> philosophical method. . ."[64] by which an attempt was made to harmonize philosophy and science.[65], (ii) that Comte discovered also the limitations of reason and thus indicated that truth can be possible in knowable realities only[66];(iii) that the French philosopher was ". . .the immortal thinker who discovered the intrinsic relation among the several aspects of social knowledge. . ."[67];(iv) that Auguste Comte

> attempted a religious reform that will be in this century probably the proof of the cultivated spirits, and gave to the men of his time, half realized , the part of the religious ideal that is realizable in our time.[68]

and (v) that the sociocratic theory of the individual in society set forth by Comte is the best among other theories.[69]

63."El pensador más efectivo que tuvo el siglo XIX. . ."OC, XVII, 145.

64."El <u>único</u> método filosófico. . ."OC, XII, 102. 65. Loc. cit.

66. OC, XVI, 252.

67.". . .El pensador inmortal que descubrió la intrínseca relación de los conocimientos sociales. . ."OC, XII, 186.

68.". . .Intentó una reforma religiosa que probablemente será en este siglo el ensayo de las almas cultas, dió a los hombres de su tiempo a medio realizar la parte del ideal religioso que es realizable en nuestro tiempo." OC, XVII, 45.

69. OC, XVII, 235.

Thus Hostos recognized the influence of Comte in the fields of methodology, logic, epistemology, social philosophy and philosophy of religion. These references to Comte are full of praise revealing the high regard in which Hostos had the French philosopher.

Hostos probably became acquainted with positivism during those early years when he was a political exile in France and United States. He called positivism a grandiose conception[70]; he confessed his ". . .predilection for the Comtist or positivist method. . ."[71] Positivism he defined as

> . . .a philosophical system that, discarding from its investigation the first and final causes on account of believing them unattainable by our means of knowledge, seeks in truths verified by the sciences, and in the unity of science and truth, the explanation of all physical and moral phenomena. . .[72]

On different occassion Hostos expounded his views on positivism defending them against attacks or in an effort to make them better known. He believed that the positivist method enabled man to have a clear conception of the rational, unitary order of the universe and that through this conception the progress of philosophy and science would be definite.[73]

---

70. OC, XI, 283.

71. ". . .Predilección por el método comtista o positivista. . ."OC, XII, 34.

72. ". . .Un sistema filosófico que, desterrando de sus indagaciones las causas primeras y finales por creerlas inaccesibles a nuestros medios de conocer, busca en las verdades demostradas por las ciencias, y en la unidad de la ciencia y la verdad, la explicación de todos los fenónemos físicos y morales. . ." OC, XII, 38.

73. OC, XII, 34; 27.

Hostos did not make any clear statement declaring that his philosophy as positivist but his attitude of praise and the ranking that he acknowledge to Comte leave little doubts about his position. Hostos thought that he had achieved an organic and complete conception of reality through positivism; that this was a fundamental aspiration of his thought reveal to what extent was the Puerto Rican philosopher satisfied intellectually by Comte. The influence of the French thinker is by far the most wide in the thought of Hostos.

2. SIR FRANCIS BACON (1561-1626)

The admiration that Hostos had for the experimental method used in the sciences is the reason why the founder of that method is given here such an important position. Hostos attributed to the development of science a high trascendence; that is why he evaluated the discovery of the method that made that development possible as ". . .the most important that has been made in all times. . ."[74] With it true science was born.[75]

The importance of Sir Francis Bacon in the history of thought is expressed in these words:

> The progressive movement of science began that day in which Francis Bacon. . .condensed the intimate thought of the new thinking humanity.[76]

---

76. ". . .La más considerable que se ha hecho en todos los tiempos. . ."OC, XVIII, 134.

75. OC,XIX, 132.

77. "El movimiento progresivo de la ciencia empezó en aquel día en que Francisco Bacon. . .condensó el pensamiento intimo de la nueva humanidad pensante. . ."OC, XIX, 102.

In its logical aspect the tra cendence of the experimental method was no less consequential for with it, Hostos, declared, ". . . One has the latin of the new method of thinking. . ."[78] The new logic that Hostos considered an advancement over the old deductive one, ". . .takes into account the ideas of Bacon. . ."[79] This was the logic on which Hostos put so mucho of his hopes for the future of reason.

The influence of Bacon was not so wide as that of Comte but due to the primary place that logical thought had in the Hostosian conception of reality the importance of the influence cannot be diminished. It was deep and intense. Hostos adopted the method of Bacon as the best instrument of logical speculation; his treatise of logic was based on the ideas of Bacon and Alexander Bain.

3. HERBERT SPENCER (1820-1903)

Similar to the position of Comte is that of the English evolutionist. Hostos called Spencer ". . .the greatest of [the] corroborators. . ."[80] of Comte. The Puerto Rican recognized Spencer as "the master" a title given by Spanish and Spanish American intellectuals as a confession of discipleship and adherence to the doctrines of some great thinker.[81] Hostos praised

---

78. ". . .Se tiene el latín del nuevo método para pensar. . ." OC, XIII, 118.
79. ". . .Toma en cuenta las ideas de Bacon. . ." OC, XIX, 24.
80. ". . .El más grande de sus confirmadores. . ." OC, XIX, 112.
81. OC, XI, 283.

Spencer as ". . .the most characteristic personality of the second period of comtism. . ."[82] and as ". . .the English philosopher who has rendered the greatest number of services to physiology and sociology. . ."[83]

The interpretation of the theory of evolution by Hostos reveal that same clear, comprehensive grasp that is found in his definition of positivism:

> . . .Everything in the world of matter and spirit, in the facts ofreality and consciousness, in the life of the individual andthe species, is the work of universal evolution or of a continuous process that is manifested empirically in every organization, in every life, in every society. . .[84]

For Hostos the evolutionist theory had a long well-established tradition and moreover represented the last achievement in the field of science.[85] It wasthe philosophy of the best of modern scientists.[86] He taught it to his pupils and explained it to the thinking public of South America.

82.". . .La personalidad más característica del segundo período del comtismo. . ."OC, XII, 103.

83. "El pensador inglés que más servicios ha hecho a la fisiología y a la sociolgía. . ."OC, XI, 282.

84. ". . .Todo,en el mundo de la realidad y el espíritu, en los hechos de realidad y de conciencia, en la vida del individuo y de las especies, es obra de la evolución universal o de un proceso continuo que se manifiesta empíricamente en toda organización, en toda vida, en toda sociedad." OC, XI, 283.

85. OC, XII, 103.

86. Loc. cit.

Hostos recognized fully his indebtedness to Spencer, specially in sociology. The evolutionary standpoint permeates the whole of the philosophy of Hostos. He sees society, reason, man always in the perspective of a process of evolution. This is the best acknowledgement of the vast, deep influence of Spencer.

4. ALEXANDER BAIN (1818-1903)

There are only two allusions to the great English psychologist in the works of Hostos but one of them is so important as to justify the place that to Bain has been given in this chapter. The allusion ascribes to Bain the intellectual paternity of the ideas expressed in the Tratado de Lógica. This treatise occupies a fundamental place in the scheme of the ideas of Hostos as in it the Hostosian conception of the activity of reason is set forth in a systematic way. Hostos recognized Bain as his main source in logic; he prefaced his treatise with these words:"That [the new logic] is the one made known by Alexander Bain, the English contemporary philosopher, in the lessons that follow."[87] In the other allusion Hostos refers to Bain as ". . . one of the greatest among contemporary logicians of England. . ."[88] The influence of Bain, as can be seen, was definite and

---

87. "Esa es la que da a conocer Alejandro Bain, el filósofo inglés contemporáneo en las lecciones que siguen."OC, XIX, 24.

88. ". . .Uno de los más grandes lógicos contemporáneos de Inglaterra. . ."OC, XIX, 83.

covered the whole range of the logical ideas of Hostos.

5. GIAMBATTISTA VICO (1688-1743)

The reading of the author of La Scienza Nuova made a deep impression in a mind that admired creative thinkers, founders. Vico inspired Hostos to write a book on philosophy of history called Preparativos para una Matemática de la Historia but the manuscript is considered lost today.[89] Hostos saw in Vico the philosopher who introduced a scientific method in the study of history, therefore, the father of a new science.[90] The Puerto Rican paralleled the Italian to Sir Francis Bacon: With Vico he said, one has ". . .the latin of the first attempt of philosophy of history. . ."[91] Unfortunately, Hostos left no systematic account of his own ideas on history; scarcely can he be said to have a philosophy of history but there can be no doubt that Vico did influence his ideas on the matter.

6. OTHER PHILOSOPHERS

The five most important influences on Hostoas have been discussed. Other philosophers helped in the construction of the thought of Hostos but the latter gives only slight clues or does

---

89. OC, II, 209.

90. OC, I, 100; XI, 306; XVII, 25.

91. ". . .El latín de la primera tentativa de Filosofía de la Historia. . ." OC, XII, 118.

not mention those thinkers at all.

In the field of morals Hostos traced the source of his principle of responsibility in individual ethics to the socratic concept of the immortality of the soul.[92] Hostos called Socrates ". . .the only true moralist. . ."of Greece.[93] The teacher of Plato provided the intellectual basis for the moral principle of responsibility in the Hostosian ethics. To Socrates the Puerto Rican attributed the authorship of the first pedagogical method and also the intellectual paternity of the inductive and deductive methods.[94] The influence of Socrates was not deep but affected three aspects of the philosophy of Hostos: ethics, philosophy of education and logic.

Another philosopher who influenced the moral theory of Hostos was Confucius. The humanistic ethics of the Puerto Rican thinker claimed roots in the doctrines of Confucius. Hostos saw the ethical views of the ancient Chinese as humanistic:

> In fact, the moral doctrine of Confucius has at its basis these five virtues: humanity, justice, order, prudence, and sincerity. Over all, humanity.[95]

He had a faith that eventually the Confucian and the Comtist morals would merge. Confucius thus influenced the ethics of Hostos.

---

92. OC, II, 220, 221.

93. ". . .El único verdadero moralista teórico. . ."Oc, XVI, 26.

94. OC, XVII, 80.

95. "En efecto: la doctrina moral de Confucio tiene por fundamento estas cinco virtudes: humanidad, justicia, orden, prudencia, y sinceridad. Por encima de todas, la humanidad." OC, XVI, 340.

During his stay in Spain Hostos was in contact with a bright generation of Spanish political leaders and philosophers. He admired them but he did not recognize any special influence on their part. Those men who Hostos called ". . .the most distinguished thinkers in the new Spain. . ."96 were Julio Sanz del Río (1814-1869), Francisco Giner de los Ríos(1839-1915), Nicolás Salmerón(1838-1908), Gumersindo de(?)Azcárate(1840-?), Emilio Castelar(1832-1899) and Francisco Pí y Margall(1824-1901). It is most probable that the federalism of Pí y Margall and the republicanism of Castelar influenced the political ideas of Hostos. It was extremely unfortunate that the intense strife with Spain did not permit a clear acknowledgement on the part of Hostos of his debt to those leaders of the Spain of his times.

---

96. ". . .Los más notables pensadores que hay en la España nueva . . ." OC, XVIII, 233.

CHAPTER 4

CONTRIBUTIONS TO PHILOSOPHY

In the last chapter the philosophers who in some way affected the course of the thought of Hostos were studied according to the importance of their influences. This chapter will be concerned with what could be called the philosophy of Hostos. His ideas in the various fields of social philosophy, ethics, logic, etc. will be investigated as to what may be considered extraneous to his thought and what may be taken as original. The criterion for originality in this thesis covers all that which is not implicitly nor explicitly attributed to any other philosopher. The order followed is asto importance of contribution.

1. SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY[97]

The influence of Comte and Spencer made Hostos call his social philosophy a sociology. Those were the times in which attempts were being made to found the "science" of sociology. Any

---

97. The most direct, systematic study of social philosophy is found in the Tratado de Sociología. This book includes two treatises; the first first is built upon notes taken by the pupils of Hostos when he taught a course in the Normal School of Santo Doningo and the second is a summary of the views expounded in the first. Two more important works in relation with this subject arethe Lecciones de Derecho Constitucional and the Tratado de Moral. The social philosophy of Hostos, is, however, dispersed through all his writings.

thinking person will find that there is little sociologic material in the Tratado de Sociología; instead she will see there a theory of society systematically developed.

Hostos believed society to be a living organism; he spoke of it as ". . .a living and active reality. . ."[98], ". . .a living being. . ."[99] The activity of society followed laws of biological and psychological development.[100] These laws relate society to the cosmic order. In the Hostosian definition of society the influence of the Spencerian conception can be seen but as Hostos did not acknowledge in this case that influence it may be taken from the standpoint of this thesis as original.

Society is a living organism that has certain functions to perform through its organs. The five functions of the social organism are: (i) co-operative work, (ii) government and liberty, (iii) education, (iv), morals, religion, art, (v) public force for organized security.

An organism lives through the work of its organs. The individual task of each part cooperates in the purpose of the whole; neither can survive without the other. This is the fundamental function of labor.

---

98. ". . .Una realidad viva y activa. ..."OC, XII, 26.

99. ". . .Un ser viviente." Loc. cit.

100. OC, XVII, 25, 27.

Every organ participates in a freedom between limitations. The liberty of each organ cannot trespass the need of the organism to live unhampered. A harmonic subordination of activities is needed in such a way that neither the parts nor the whole will be harmed. Each part has its allotment of rights and duties, i. e., freedom of the individual, of the family, of the province and duty of sacrifice or gratitude. The power of the whole will be limited by the restraining liberties of the parts and vice-versa. From this realities arise the function of liberty and government.

The development of the organism produces an advancement, a progress. It is a growth of a being from lower to higher levels of reason. This progress is furthered by society through the function of individual and collective education.

When society has advanced sufficiently as to produce a type of life in which "the trascendental" counts very much and has found the way to express its relations with those trascendental realities it is in the stage of semi civilization or complete civilization. The function of morals, religion and art is performed in those stages.

The order of society requires a minimum of individual and public security. Organized social force to insure that security is found inthe army and in the police. This is the fifth function of the social group.

The functional organism of society is able to act due to the existence of certain principles without which no such functions as enable society to live would be possible. Order and law are the conditions sine qua non of society. The social order is manifested through laws. These laws are: (i) the law of association, (ii) the law of labor, (iii) the law of liberty, (iv) the law of progress, (v) the law of the Ideal of the Good, (vi) the law of preservation and (vii) the law of environments. All these laws except the first and the last manifest different functions of society.

The first law, that of association, is the constitutive principle of society. It was stated by Hostos in this way: "The association is in a positive ratio to the force of instinct and in a negative proportion to the development of the collective needs."[101] The family, the province, the municipality, and the nation arise from the effects of this law. Social cohesion depends on it.

The first of the functional or organic laws is that of labor. It rules the function of cooperative work. For Hostos there were three main factors or "coefficients" in labor: the soil, the laborer and the capital. Hostos stated his law in the following form: "Consumption is proportional to production

---

101. "La sociabilidad está en razón positiva de la fuerza del instinto y en proporción negativa del desarrollo de las necesidades colectivas." OC, XVII, 70.

and production is proportional to the coefficients ofwork."[102] This law hasbeen violated through history and the economic unhappiness of millions have been the consequence. It is through loyal adherence to it that society will attain a wholesome economic state.

The law of liberty rules the function of government. The task of the latter is to guarantee the normal enjoyment of the freedom of each of the organs and deter any of the parts of an excessive use of liberty. Rights and duties must be harmonized so that the whole will be stable. The law as stated says: "Liberty is in a relation of harmony with right and duty, and in a relation of contrast with force and power."[103]

The law of progress rules the function of education. The two extremes in the relation of progress are: education and perfection. Public education exists for the realization of the law of progress. It arises from the necessity of educating the individual and collective mind in the life of reason. The law was enonciatedby Hostos in these words: "Progress is in a positive relation to education and in a negative relation to the least degree of perfectiveness."[104]

---

102. "El consumo es proporcional a la producción, y la producción a los coeficientes del trabajo." OC, XVII, 70.

103. "La libertad está en relación de armonía en el derecho y el deber y en relación de contraste con la fuerza y el poder." OC, XVII, 47.

104. "El progreso está en relación positiva de la educación y en relación negativa del menor grado de perfeccionamiento." OC. XVII, 48.

This is the principle of development of society, of its growth according to reason and conscience.

Established religious institutions and morals represent society functioning inaccordance to the law of the Ideal of the Good. There is a close relation between religion and ethics; they supplement each other. At the root of the religious activity there is an aspiration towards the good.[105] Hostos declared that

> The ideal of the good is in a direct ratio to the development of morals, and in inverse ratio to the individual and collective inability to know the religious and moral ends.[106]

So, for Hostos, the growth of society towards higher stages of civilization meant an improvement of the grasp of ethical and religious values.

The law of preservation illuminates that aspect of society by which it insures its existence through time and space. Social groups try to conserve their lives against internal and external perils. There is a vital force, an energy in society which enables the group to preserve its physical basis for the maintenance of civilization. "The preservation corresponds to the vital force, and this to the energy with which the functional means are adapted to the purpose of each function."[107] Endurance in time and

---

105. OC, XVII, 85. 106. " El ideal del bien está en razón directa del desarollo de la moral, y en razón inversa de la incapacidad individual y colectiva para conocer los fines religiosos y morales." OC, XVII, 74.

107. "La conservación corresponde a la fuerza vital, y ésta a la energía con que se adaptan los medios funcionales a todo y a cada fin de una función." OC, XVII, 75.

space is insured through the law of preservation. Social force (police, army)acts according to this law.

These are the five organic laws which rule the five functions of the social organism. In some sense they are normative as they determine how the function ought to be and in some sense descriptive as they declare whow the function actually is.

The last or seventh law is concerned with the effects of changes in the environment of groups on the social forces. Hostos stated the law in thisform:

> "Every social force in passing from a sociotic environment to other sociotic environment is more or less weakened: more, when it passes from a sick environment to a sound one; less, when it passes from a strong environment to a weaker one.[108]

All these laws are the expression of an order in society. They are natural insofar as society is in nature. The functional organicism of Hostos is in line with the great Platonic, Aristotelian tradition; it has also points of contact with Hegel and, of course is influenced by Spencer. The scheme of these laws must be considered as original. Hostos does not make a clear distinction between the normative and the descriptive contents of the laws; they are for him equivalent or identical. Almost

---

108. "Toda fuerza social al pasar de un medio sociótico a otro medio sociótico se quebranta en sentido de más o en sentido de menos: en sentido de más, cuando pasa de un medio enfermo a otro sano; en sentido de menos, cuando pasa de un medio fuerte a otro débil." OC,XVII, 76.

no criticism is to be found about the laws, but perhaps it was not a fault of Nostos as his treatise is the result of notes compiled by his students which give only the conclusions and not the dicussions.

The development and structure of society can better be explained if its functions and laws are understood. Society arose from the desire of two or more individuals to associate. The individual alone is not able to survie; he must unite himself to others even if for pure physiological reasons, i. e., man and wife. The first result of the functioning of the law of association was the family. From the grouping together of families clans and in modern society, townships were formed. The interrelations of townships formed the region or the province, and so up to the nations and humanity. Historically, however the clan or tribe developed into the nation.[109]

The different forms of association through history have been: (i) savagery of primitive tribes, (ii) barbarism as a result of nomadic migrations, (iii) semibarbarism in which religious and moral concepts appeared, (iv) semicivilization in which a complex and advanced stage has been attained, (v) civilization, an almost ideal state not yet achieved in which all the potentialities of a society are realized.

---

109. OC, XVII,, 40-43.

Society can achieve its ideal ends if it only manage to actualize the following possibilities: (i)a relative prosperity by means of the economic power, (ii)a relative freedom through its juridical power, (iii)relative perfection as a result of educational powers, (iv)the relative good through its religious-moral forces, (v)a relative harmony by its capacity of preservation. These are the purposes of society. Attention must be called to the importance that Hostos ascribed to the purposive nature of society and that those ends were mainly axiological. Society realizes values; its objectives are not absolute but relative values. The idealistic trend of the thought of Hostos predominates in this aspect of his social theory.

The organs of society can be divided according to Hostos into natural and institutional. The natural organs are: the individual, the family, the township and the nation. The fundamental organ is the individual. The institutional organs, mostly normative are: the domestic council, the municipal council, the provincial government and the State. Hostos dreamed also of an international state.[110]

In the last part of his treatise Hostos developed his theory of sociopathy or social pathology. He claimed that social groups being organisms they are subjected to the infirmities

---

110. OC. XVII, 147-175.

proper to the latter. These maladies are the results of disorder in the social body which has impaired the functions of society. Examples are: the physiologic misery on account of undernourishment in individuals, social anemia because of lack of blood, tyranny, smugglery, petty politics, militarism, etc. A violation of a law of society causes a social state of infirmity. [111] This must be considered as one of the most valuable contributions of Hostos to social philosophy. The premises upon which it is based may be doubted but the realities to which it points are still before the eyes of the modern world. Hostos did not only see the positive aspects of society but its negative also and for each of them he had a fairly sound explanation.

The Puerto Rican called his theory an "organic" one for he loved order and law, not dead, but alive and active. For him there was a correlation between the cosmic order and the social. The universe functioned, worked, united its elements and it is not unreasonable to suppose that he saw purpose in the activity of the cosmos. [112] All this is his own insofar as he did not attribute it to others and was the product of his own thought.

Government was, for Hostos, an institution needed by society to insure the harmonic functioning of the parts according to right and duty and for the purpose of satisfying social

---

111. OC, XVII, 176-189.

112. OC, XVII, 223-230.

demands. It was instituted through election and delegation; it should establish the juridical order of liberty.[113] The functions of government are: the electoral, the legislative, the executive and the judicial. From the electoral spring all the other functions; through it the sovereignty of the collective will of society is established.[114] The contribution of Hostos consists in this case in his assertion that the electoral power residing in the people is one of the functions of government and is more basical than any other.

The best form of government for Hostos was representative democracy. He believed it to be the ideal form and he claimed that his doctrine of federalism was a necessary complement to an effective democracy. Sovereignty is for him distributed among the organs of society in an adequate proportion.[115] This is Federation.

The state is the institution embodying the government of a nation. It is practically the same thing as the government, but its difference is that the state is rooted in law and comprehends all the other institutions of a nation.[116] The constitutional pact is the basis of the state by which society and individuals harmonize their mutual rights and duties.[117]

---

113. OC, XV, 30-31, 71.
114. OC, XV, 295-210.
115. OC, XV, 55.
116. OC, XVII, 162-168; XV, 23.
117. OC, XV, 123.

The only condition of liberty is law; without it no organ can improve, no government exist. Freedom and order are preconditions of governments. Organs must be autonomous but not independent. Law is a harmony between power and right.[118]

The Hostosian conception of government and the state is very near Rousseau, Locke and Montesquieu. The constitutional pact is very similar to the social contract. The doctrine of federalism and representative democracy is probably due to the influence of the Spanish liberal leaders, Castelar, Pí y Margall and others. Law is not for Hostos a slavish command but a reasoned principle of harmony; liberty, not atomistic free behavior but actions within reasonable limitations. Hostos did not acknowledge his indebtedness to other thinkers on these theories and therefore from the point of view of this thesis they must be considered as original. System, law, order are in the core of the social philosophy of Hostos.

2. ETHICS

The moral theory of the Puerto Rican philosopher was divided by him into natural, individual and social. The natural has to do with the relations of man with the cosmic realities; the individual with the responsibilities of man to himself; the

---

118. OC, XV, 35, 71, 30-31, 45-46.

social with the interrelations of man and society. The most organized exposition of the ethics of Hostos is found in his Tratado de Moral.

1. Natural and Individual Ethics

Hostos believed that morals have a definite status in reality. He affirmed that there is a moral nature in which moral objects exist. There are moral facts, actions and ideas. Moral ideas are produced by moral facts. The organ through which individuals are able to apprehend moral ideas is conscience, the highest of all the organs of knowledge. For Hostos, conscience was ". . . the supreme organ of our moral constitution. . .",[119] the supreme organ of human personality through which the good and the bad are perceived.[120] Conscient individuals are able to distinguish the moral from the nonmoral in nature.

The essential condition of morality is that of the adequate relation between means and purposes.[121] Intelligence, rational will and freedom are three instruments of knowledge in the moral realm. The will must follow reason; only a rational will can further morality. Moral responsibility lies in this.[122] The measure of morality is the preference of the general good to the particular one, the adherence to virtues and not to vices, the

---

119. ". . .el órgano supremo de nuestra constitución moral. . ." OC, XVI, 22. Also, OC, XVI, 8-19.

120. OC, XVI, 19; VI, 25.

121. OC, XVI, 30.

122. OC, XVI, 31.

loyalty to intrinsic values and not to passions, the victory of the rational over the instinctive. Reason makes man responsible; he is free and yet he must acknowledge his obligation to follow reason if he wishes to be moral.[123] In acting as a moral being man is cooperating to the attainment of the purposes of theplan of life.

Hostos did not indicate which philosophers helped him to conceive this theory. It has connections with the Kantian formalistic ethics, with the Stoics inseeing a moral order in nature but Hostos says nothing about them. This, therefore, should be taken as original.

From the relation of man to nature a complex of obligations is produced; they are:(i)the duty of preservation, (ii) the duty of the natural forces,(iii)the duty of knowing the relation of harmony between the forces of nature and our own, (iv), the duty of abstention of reason.

These duties Hostos divided into two groups. The duties of preservation bid the cultivation of contacts with the physical world, the strenghthening of abilities to know about the realm of things, the education ofthe volitive and affective abilities. The duties of abstention of reason are: refrain from speaking about the unknowable an about the undemostrable, pay

---

123. OC, XVI, 37, 39-40; II, 234.

homageof acknowledgement and gratitude to the unknown cause; tolerate dissident believers, be benevolent toward religions or religious persons, oppose superstitions and fanatisms, fight them.[124]

The respect that Hostos had for reality made him give a high moral rank to the relations between man and nature. This aspect of his morals is very valuable as it reveal an attempt to fix the qualities involved in the above-mentioned relations.

The individual ethics of Hostos sets forth a set of duties of man to himself. Toward his physiological basis man has the duty of preservation and development of his resources. Towards his feeling or sensibility man has the obligation of self-restraint, of rational control of his passions. Towards his reason man has the duties of education of the intellect, of understanding of the moral order, of following the guidance of reason, and of developing and cultivating conscience.[125]

Hostos did not discuss the problem of good and evil. For him evil is the result of an unreasoned will.[126] As to the ideal of morality he believed it to be justice. This ideal is higher than that of truth. Morals was the highest of sciences.[127] The ultimate end of sciences is morals as the ultimate end of truth is the good.[128]

---

124. OC, XVI, 64-76.

125. OC, XVI, 84-91.

126. OC, XII, 135.

127. OC, XII, 150.

128. OC, XII, 152.

The ethics of Hostos lacks a wide range of consideration of possibilities. There is an absence of criticism and although systematic the theory of Hostos lacks fullness of content. Hostos overemphasizes reason and leaves without discussing important problems of ethics. His justification of the natural and individual duties is too much tied up with his conception of reality.

2. Social Ethics

Man depends on other individuals and groups in order to subsist. He is in a relation of necessity to them; also he appreciates the value of living with other individuals and so the relation of gratitude arises; he collaborates with his group and is thus in a relation of utility; he has his rights and duties toward them.[129]

The duties created by these relations are of two sorts: generic and secondary. The generic are derived from each social relation. The relation of necessity causes the duty of contribution to labor in the municipality, that of industry in the province, that of patriotism in the nation, and that of subordination in international life. The relation of gratitude creates the following duties: obedience in the family, submission in the town, adhesion to the province, abidance in the nation, and

---

129. OC, XVI, 116-122.

subjection to reason and conscience in humanity. The relation of utility produces the duties of sacrifice, cooperation, union, abnergation, conciliation and coordination. The relation of right gives rise to the duties of fundamental and professional education, to the constitutional obligations and the respect of international law. The culmination of all duties is what Hostos called the duty of duties, the obligation to fulfill them all.[130] In his relation to humanity man has the duty of fraternity, philantropy, cosmopolitanism and civilization. The last is the duty of attaining the moral ideal in society.[131]

The secondary duties are complementary to the generic. They are the virtues. To the duty of labor corresponds the duty of thrift; to that of contribution to labor; foresight; industry is complemented by constance; patriotism by dignity; fraternity by beneficence; obedience by veneration; submission by good-will (benedicencia); adhesion by reverence; abidance by conformity; philanthropy by benevolence; sacrifice by solidarity; union by legality; cooperation by integrity; abnegation by magnanimity; cosmopolitanism by tolerance; domestic education by prudence; fundamental education by equity; professional education by firmness; college education by justification, and civilization by fairness(imparcialidad).Virtues are of three kinds: social, like

---

131. OC, XVI, 116-122.

tolerance, benevolence; political, like solidarity, firmness; econocmic, like frugality, thrift.[132]

The relations of morals to law is that of necessity in the sense that morals without law are inconceivable.[133] Politics without morals is undignified.[134] Education is a precondition of morals.[135] Religion will achieve ultimately the moral ideal. Hostos believed Catholicism to be the form of religion that would ultimately be the instrument for the attainment ofthe moral ideal.[136] Even art, drama, literature are in some sense moralizers.[137] Hostos pretended to found the "science" of morals as he had wished to do with sociology.[138]

The ethics of Hostos is of a formalistic type. It would be too difficult to practice because of the larqu quantity of obligations it sets forth that tend to overburden the moral situation. Hostos did not distinguish clearly between virtues and duties. He trespassed the limits of morals in attempting to subserve to it the whole range of man's spiritual activity. Criticism is absent from the Hostosian exposition. There is an effort for comprehensiveness in the moral theory of Hostos but it fails. The deep sense of moral duty, the loyalty to reason, the respect for individual liberty, the high place of conscience--all this speak very much in favor of the merits of

---

132. OC, XVI, 194-195. 133. OC, XVI, 208. 134. OC, XVI,217.
135. OC, XVI, 225-228. 136. OC, XVI, 231. 137 OC, XVI,254-276.
138. OC, XVI, 305-306.

the ethics of Hostos. This may be taken as original insofar as Hostos does not attribute any of its ideas to any other philosopher.

3. LOGIC

The logic of Hostos is connected with his whole conception of philosophy. His Tratado de Lógica is preceded by some of his view on what philosophy is; this treatise is the only systematic exposition of the logic of Hostos. He attributes the bulk of ideas in it to Bain so it is not, in that sense, original.

Philosophy Hostos defined as ". . .the study of the causes by which things are as they are. . ."[139] Philosophy is divided in to Psychology, Ethics, Aesthetics and Logic. Psychology is the basic science out of which the others are derived.[140]

Logic is that science that studies the intellect; it is a concrete, natural science of the functions of understanding, of the methods by which truth is attained and it is the guidance of reason.[141]

Truth is what is found at the bottom of reality; it is the cause and explanation of the real.[142] Reality is everything as it is with its properties and qualities as perceived by the senses and reason.[143]

---

139. ",.. .El estudio de las causas en virtud de las cuales las cosas todas son como son."OC, XIX, 10.
140. OC, XIX, 18.
141. OC, XIX, 22-27.
142. OC, XIX, 27.
143. Loc. cit.

Knowledge is the ability to apprehend the nature of things as if it were evident to our senses. It requires a deep analysis of objects, so that the truth that is inreality shall be revealed. this investigation is performed by reason.[144] Objects of knowledge are all the knowable.

Reason is a natural instrument with which men are endowed to know truth. Reason is always critical Judgement is the result of all the operations of reason.[145] In judgment the existence of a property or a quality in an object is affirmed.[146] The object of critical reason is to show the logical relations between a judgment and its object inr reality.[147]

The functions of reason are: intuition, induction, deduction, and systematization. Each function consists of a set of operations. Operations of intuition are:(i) sensation, by which reality is felt through the senses but conveys no knowledge, (ii) perception where reason contemplates the received sensation,(iii) intuitive memory, that reproduces sensations, images, ideas but pasively, (iv) imagination, which is an active representation of images of reality and supplements memory, (v) attention, or the power to perceive the object wanted.[148]

---

144. OC, XIX, 28-29.

145. OC, XIX, 24; XI, 9.

146. OC, XIX, 210.

147. OC, XI, 15-16.

148. OC, XIX, 32-40.

Intuition is the product of all these operations. They provide the first data of experience and are mainly sponataneous.

All the operations of intuition are present in induction but this function represents mind already in the first steps of its investigation; effort is present. Inductive memory is concerned with the representation of images and ideas of reason not of the senses. Attention becomes observation. Other operations of reason are: comparison, analysis, classification, in its phase of induction. This function discovers the relations of cause and effect, the natural order of things.[149]

The operations of deduction are:(i)reflection or a reexamination of the knowledged afforded by intuition and induction, (ii) particularization, in which reason acquires more knowledge by adding previous information known, (iii) synthesis. With deduction the discovery of general principles is attained; it is almost the culmination of the process of reasoning.[150]

Systematization consists of association of ideas, analogy, generalization and organization. It results in the hierarchical relating of general principles. With it the process of reason is completed and a judgment about reality as a whole is possible. The movement of thought is from sensation, to concepts or ideas and then to principles or laws.[151]

---

149. OC, XIX, 41-45. 150. OC, XIC, 45-46.

151. OC, XII, 42; XIX, 119-120.

Hostos devoted a large part of his treatise to formal logic as commonly known. Methodology he stressed very much as for him method is the instrument thatpermits the adequate functioning of reason in its efforts to attain the object of knowledge. Methods divided into subjective and objective. Subjective is that method peculiar to reason when it is functioning spontaneoulsy; objective is the method of reason when it is intent upon the investigation of the real. Other methods are the analytic, the synthetic, the geometrical analysis and the experimental. The latter Hostos considered extremely important due to its role in science. [152]

Hostos finally applied logic to the classification of the sciences. He followed the classification of Comte dividing the sciences into concrete and abstract; primary and secondary. He added a criterion of his own: experimental and rational(those in which the experimental method cannot be applied.) All knowledge according to Hostos can be divided into(i)cosmological, (ii) anthropological and(iii)sociological parallel to the three fold order of nature.[153]

The reinterpretation by Hostos of the ideasoof Bain may be considered as original but the content of his treatise is avowedly not his own. The importance of the logical ideas of

---

152. OC, XIX, 106-137.

153. OC, XIX, 138-143.

Hostos should not be disregarded as for him reason was ever present in natural and human activity. Logical ideas it is reasonable to suppose had for him a high status in reality.

4. PHILOSOPHY OF EDUCATION

Hostos did not write a philosophy of education. His pedagogical ideas were not fully expounded in any of his works. They must be discovered there and organized as systematically as possible.

The reader will remember that the third function of society is education. It is ruled by the law of progress which is really a law of perfectibility. Hostos used to accompany the word "education" with the adjectives "common" and "universal." Education is the reflexive and voluntary development of the organic, sensorial, moral and intellectual abilities of the individual. The aim of education is to cultivate reason;.it should be common and universall, including all available knowledge and for all human beings.[154] It is the state which should interfere with education so as to insure the progress of the group.[155]

The fundamental purposes of education are:(i)to teach the means of discovering truths and of insuring the advancement of science, (ii)to cultivate the sound development of reason, (iii)

---

154. OC, XIV, 242; XII, 39; IX, 273.

155. OC, VI, 303.

its social aim is to form valuable citizens for the nation and humanity, (iv) education must be moral in the sense of producing men who will love and live for the good. The love of truth, of justice, of right and duty, of the nation and of humanity, of freedom, of virtue are among the moral ends of education. Hostos emphasized very much the ethical aspect of education. This should be social, public, covering the most important phases of the life of the individual and society.[156]

Education is a process that Hostos divided into the following steps: elementary, secondary, professional and college or universitary. The university should be the culmination of the process, a center of intrinsic love of truth, of disinterested learning, the highest mark of the objective creativeness of a society.[157]

Hostos was an educator more than a philosopher of education. He devoted long years of his life to teaching in Chile and Santo Domingo. His works are full of projects of a pedagogical nature. His emphasis was on the moral aspect of education; he believed that knowledge was ultimately for the elevation of man. Humanities had little place in his program but science had the first. His ideas on education he did not attribute to other philosophers although points of contact may be found with Rousseau. He was

---

156. OC, V, 37-38; XII, 133; XII, 228-248.

157. OC, XIII, 275.

influenced by Froebel and Pestalozzi. As he does not ascribe his ideas to them they may be taken as original from the viewpoint of this thesis.

5. PHILOSOPHY OF LAW

The Lecciones de Derecho Constitucional and the Nociones de Derecho Penal are the main sources of the philosophy of law of Hostos. His treatment in both books is noth thoroughly systematic as he was not trying to develop a philosophy of law but attempting to give his views on constitutional or penal law.

The source of the natural law is the individual conscience and it is the result of the activity of reason and will.[158] Right is a product of the rational individual. Every person has inherent rights that make her theequal of all other persons. When individuals associate they have to renounce to some of their rights in order to live in an organized form; authority is conferred to society; the judicial order arises.[159] Law in society must be imposed according to reason and necessity..

Among the different kinds of rights there are the individual(natural, civil) and the absolute. The latter are the rights of the individual as a repesentative of the race and as member of the social group. They cover the biological and the social

---

158. OC, XV, 152-153.

159 OC, XVIII, 277-278.

sides ofpersonality.

Law is the right of individuals to realize the purposes of life; the power of society to impose a certain order on its members in accordance to rational principles; it is also a written precept. The first law of the state from which all others are derived is the constitution. A law should be stated clearly, concretely and should be supported by the authorities in charge of enacting it. In the state the law guarantees the balance between right and power. Law is a precondition of liberty; it rules the state.160

Hostos made law spring from the conscience of the individual; it had a moral source, reason. The Hostosian conception of law is full of ethicism; it speaks more about the normative than about actual facts. It is not widely comprehensive but it reveals a deep insight into the moral content of law. As long as Hostos did not mention some philosopher influncing his views on law these are original.

6. PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION

As in philosophy of education and of law, Hostos did not leave a complete, systematic treatment of his ideas on religion. His views are dispersed throughout his works and they must be

---

160. OC, XVIII, 277, 355, 382; XV, 119, 116-117.

organized in some orderly way.

Religions are undeniable facts; they represent a phase of of the activity of the human spirit. The religious spirit is immortal.[161] The religious spirit appears in two ways:(i) spontaneously and emotionally,(ii)as a result of an intellelectual grasp of the nature of the universe. Religion is not rational in the sense of being scientific because it is a definite attitude assumed by man when his feelings and imaginations have been excited through contact with nature. Fear of the aggressive forces in nature is another source of religious attitudes.[162]

When man discovers a universal order in nature, the subordination of particular facts to general principles, the relations of cause and effect, the unitary cosmic plan; he is able to see that there is a cause, unknowable and unprovable to whom he must pay intellectual homage. His feeling of wonder changes into that of love and gratitude. This is the rational motivation of the religious attitude.[163]

In its social aspect religion is a binding together of wills and consciences for purposes transcendent of the human life.[164] Religion is the embodiment of the ideal of humanity. The faith in this ideal, faith in the Good, the Beautiful, Truth, Justice, Freedom, the Solidarity of the human souls, is the religious

---

161. OC, XII, 293; XVI, 243-244, 232.
162. OC, XVI, 57-59.
163. OC, XVI,,59-61; XIII, 87.
164. OC, XVII,,142.

faith. Religions and morals are closely related. The greatest religious leaders, Confucius, Budha, Jesus, were the highest exemplification of the moral life.[165] As Hostos put it:". . .the soul of religion is morals. . ."[166]

The evolution of religions in history has had three aspects: (i) the cosmologic in which the physical and psychical forces were worshipped, (ii) the anthropologic which is the epoch of polytheism, and monotheism, (iii) the sociotic in which social forces are the oobject of worship.[167]

Hostos discusses also the role of Protestantism, Catholicism and humanism in history. Protestantism with its tolerance of individual thought and its tendency toward philosophic attitudes has been a great auxiliary to the moral improvement of humanity. It has been eminently progressive.[168] Catholicism has enjoyed a universality that if it were not for its dogmatic errors would have resulted in greater goods for humanity. In the future catholicism will combine with religious positivism to found the ideal religion for the ideal order of society. In this order religion and reason historically separated will be harmonized. It will a transition from traditional to higher philosophical types of religion.[169]

---

165. OC, XII, 228.

166. ". . .El alma de la religión es la moral. . ."Loc. cit.

167. OC, XVII, 145.

168. OC, XVI, 236-241.

169. OC, XVI, 229-236, 245-246.

Humanism is the best of philosophical religions; it is a philosophizedcatholicism; it is the intellectual basis for the religion. Hostos in this case adhered to the religion founded by Comte.[170]

The Puerto Rican thinker recognized the important role of traditional religions in history; he did not reject them but he believed that eventually they would tend to merge in a common, universal form of worship. The philosophy of religion of Hostos is not thorough and does not take all facts into account, but the truth is that he was not trying to expound a philosophy; he was giving only his own views. From the point of view of this thesis they must be considered as original although the influence of Comte and Spencer can be seen in the Hostosian conception.

7. AESTHETICS

The aesthetic ideas of Hostos are not systematically set forth in any place. In his artistic and literary criticisms he he expounded some principles which must be selected from his writings on the subject. Hostos had definite ideas which can be given in a logical order.

Hostos was Aristotelian in his theory of the imitation of nature in art. The free, reflective imitation by individuals of the harmonic character of the real. [171] The principle of art is

---

170. OC, XVII, 145. 171. OC, XI, 26, 59.

the conception of reality combining beauty, variety and harmony. Art is essence and form of nature.[172] In its social aspect, art is a phenomenon of a society that hasadvanced to a point in which it has begun to dominate nature; it is a sign of civilization.[173] The fundamental requirement of art is originality of conception, but unfortunately, for Hostos, that originality consists inthe ability of the artist to reproduce exactly nature. This is especially true of painting.[174]

Hostos gave a limited number of views on the different arts. In architecture he preferred variety of form and harmonic contrasts in proportions of size.[175] In sculpture he found the enjoyment of forms which delighted som much the ancients. For Hostos it is the symbolic art par excellence. In painting he demanded the exact reproduction of nature. Music is the most adequate expression of feeling; it is the manifestation of the ineffable; art for art's sake.[176] Poetry, Hostos, contrasted with music. He demanded a scheme of thought, the expression of an idea, the predominance of concept over feeling; art for utility's sake. He wanted a universal poetry covering the whole range of reality and a poet who would be able to objectify

---

172. OC, II, 226; XI, 58. 173. OC, XI, 70; VII, 297, 300-301.
174. OC, XII, 314; XI, 72. 175. OC, VI, 279.
176. OC, VII, 304-305; X, 104; XI,33, 45.

the social realities of his time.[177] These are what Hostos called the liberal arts.[178]

In art criticism Hostos laid down two principles:(i)investigation of what is beautiful initself, (ii) investigation of what is beautiful in its relation to truth and the good.[179]

Hostos devoted great attention to the relation of art to truth and morals. For him the maxim of Boileau, "rien n'est beau que le vrai" is the great criterion of art.[180] All arts are moral because they are natural. Art is moralizing as long as it helps to cultivate feeling, attention, and imagination. On the part of the artist the worship of beauty helps to the development of a moral attitude.[181] The artist is a moralizer. In its social aspect insofar as art objectivies internal realities of man it is an auxiliary of morals.[182] An art that disregards the beautiful, the true, the useful and the good is not art.[183] Artists must control their feelings and ambitions if they do not want to debase art. The ideal of art is not partial but ultimately the ideal of humanity.[184] Although the beautiful as such is not moral it helps to further moral attitudes.[185]

Literature is in direct proportion to the development of society. Hostos condemned novels as immoral in the sense that

---

177. OC, XI, 45-46; X, 16-17. 178. OC, XI, 25.
179. Loc. cit. 180. OC, XVI, 267. 181. OC, XVI, 254.
182. OC, XVI, 255-256. 183. OC, XI, 26.
184. OC, XVI, 259. 185. OC, XI, 26.

they cause a waste of time and intellectual energies.[186] Plays obtain their subject matter from social realities. Their purpose is to create effects but they should not limit their interest to that and admit the necessity of a moral lesson in dramas. Playwrights have a moral responsibility toward individuals and groups as they treat the problem of the conflict of passions and interests. Theatre ought then tobe moral.[187]

Summarizing, for Hostos, art is imitation of nature; its criterion is truth; its purpose has a moral content. The aesthetic ideas of Hostos are not comprehensive and reveal a moralizing preoccupation. This counts in disfavor of his theory. Hostos did not ascribe his views to any other philosopher and therefore it is justified to think them original.

8. IDEAS ON HISTORY

Hostos had no thoroughgoing theory of what history is. His ideas are few on the matter and not systematized. Perhaps the lost manuscript of the Prerarativos para una Matemática de la Historia contained his philosophy of history.

The science of history is the exposition of the life of humanity in what it has of universal and moral. This science presents humanity in a continuous process through time and space.[188]

---

186. OC, XVI, 260-267.

187. OC, XVI, 268-276.

188. OC, XVI, 276, 282; XI, 55.

The purpose of history is to indicate the organic, moral and intellectual development of a nation or of all nation.[189] A historical narration is good if it is comrephensive and reproduces the thoughts, feelings and realizations of the society to which it refers.[190]

The conception of history as a science, the idea of history as a process may be due to the influence of Comte and Vico, respectively. Hostos had no philosophy of history but he does not attribute his ideas neither to Comte nor to Vico; they must then be counted as an original contribution.

---

189. OC, XI, 250.

190. OC, XI, 254.

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The problem of this thesis was to find the possible contributions of Eugenio María de Hostos de philosophy and the influence that he acknowledged in the forming of his thought by other philosophers.

The literature available in English and French about Hostos is not extensive and, in general, not very important. The period preceding the celebration of the centenary in 1939 contains thin material on Hostos. The most acute writers of this period were Francisco García Calderón, Carlos Pereyra and Pedro Henríquez Ureña. They emphasized the ethical, pedagogical, sociological aspects of the life and works of Hostos. The period after the centenary saw an increase in interest. In the latest bulletin of the De Hostos Centenary Commission, a good collection of articles is found. The best among the writers publishing articles there are Edgar Sheffield Brightman who claimed that Hostos was really a philosopher of personality and Pedro de Alba who studied the concept of gratitude in the Hostosian moral theory. Many ofthese articles reveal a deep insight into the character of the philosophy of Hostos.

The historic world in which Hostos lived included primarily

Spain and Spanish America. In Spain Hostos saw the rise of the liberal movement and the subsequent defeat after the fall of the republic. His hopes deceived he turned his attention to work for the independence of Cuba and Puerto Rico; the South American nations were divided by political strife but Hostos had in Chile and Peru the opportunity to help the rise of liberalism. He taught and preached his ideas all over the continent, specially in Chile and Santo Domingo.

In Spain Hostos was in contact with the leading political and itellectual directors of the country, Castelar, Pí y Margall, Giner de los Ríos, etc. These were men influenced by Kant, Hegel and mainly Krause. In South America Hostos cooperated to the triumph of positivism and evolutioni sm over traditional scholasticism.

The most important influence in the construction of the thought of Hostos was Auguste Comte who determined his fundamental positivistic position and helped in the conception of his theories on methodology, epistemology, sociology, logic, social philosophy and philosophy of religion. Hostos believed that through positivism an organic grasp of the nature of the real could be obtained. The influence of Comte was the widest of all influeces on Hostos.

Second to Comte, Sir Francis Bacon, had a definite influence on Hostos due to the former's discovery of the exrerimental method which the Puerto Rican considered the greatest that had

been made in all times. The influence of Bacon, although deep was not wide. It affected the realms of logic and epistemology of the Hostosian scheme of thought.

The third philosopher of great importance who helped shaping the ideas of the Puerto Rican was Herbert Spencer. Hostos called him "the master." In the fields of social philosophy and history Hostos adopted the evolutionary standpoint that he inherited from Spencer. The influence of the latter was both wide and deep.

Hostos ascribed the whole of the ideas appearing in his treatise of logic to Alexander Bain. Due to the importance of logic in the thought of Hostos the influence of Bain can be classified as essential.

Giambattista Vico was an inspiration for Hostos in the realm of history. The Puerto Rican thinker aspired to help in the foundation of the science of history. Hostos had no philosophy of history but his views were undoubtedly affected by the work of the Italian philosopher.

Other philosophers who influenced Hostos were:Socrates in the fields ofethics and philosophy of education, Confucius in morals, the Spanish thinkers like Castelar, Salmerón, Pí y Margall in social philosophy and politics.

Hostos had no system of philosophy as such conceived by himself. He held ideas thoroughly organized in social philosophy

ethics, logic and philosophy of law. He did not pretend to write a philosophy of education, a philosophy of religion or an aesthetics his views on these subjects must be discovered and systematized by the investigator.

Hostos envisaged society as a functional organism ruled by principles and purposive in its nature. He believed in an intimate correlation between society and the cosmos; one was reflection of the other. He was not clear as to his conception of law in society whether they are normative or descriptive. In history and space he saw society in a process of evolution. The ends of society are moral, religious and artistic. Liberty and law are the limits of social order. In his doctrine of society Hostos fell in the tradition of Plato, Aristotle and Spencer; in his theory of government and the state he was near Montesquieu, Locke, Rousseau and the Spanish Liberals. There is an absence of self-criticism in the exposition of the views of the Puerto Rican but his social philosophy as a result of his own rethinking of ideas already known may be counted as original. His theory of sociopathy is undoubtedly an important contribution, also.

The ethical theory of Hostos revolves around the individual. It has points of contact with Kantian formalism in its insistence of the loyalty of the will to reason and with stoicism in its seeing of a preestablished moral order in nature. Hostos made a valuable contribution to ethics when he elevated the relations of man to nature to the rank of moral responsibility and duty.

The ethics of Hostos are tied up with his conception of the universe. Important problems, i.e., of good and evil, are not discussed. A wide field of facts escaped the attention of Hostos; his ethics lack content. There is not much criticism in the setting forth of his theory. Hostos overcharged his moral doctrine with duties without explaining clearly what he understood by obligations. The Puerto Rican made morals was the highest "science" and in so doing he lost sight of the hierarchy of the sciences and exaggerated the importance of moral values. By making morals the ultimate criterion of the spiritual activity of man Hostos enslaved the whole in the name of one of its parts. The Hostosian insistence on moral duty, the respect for individual liberty and the high place he gave to conscience as the basis of personality are definite contributions to the field of ethics.

Hostos made no important contibution to logic as his ideas he attributed to Alexander Bain. Insofar as he interpreted rather than copied Bain he may be taken as original. The importance of the logical ideas of Hostos in his own scheme of thought should not be minimized but they cannot be counted as a contribution to philosophy.

The educator in Hostos was more alive than the philosopher of education. He taught pupils and peoples, but he had no systematic philosophy of education. He emphasized the moral aspect of education which he conceived as a duty of the state. His ideas may be taken as original although there is nothing in them, except

his stress on the moral purpose of education, that cannot be found in Rousseau, Comenius, Froebel and Pestalozzi.

In his philosophy of law, which he never expounded in a thorough and systematic order Hostos revealed a profound penetration into the moral character of law. He made law and right arise from the moral conscience and the reason of the individual. His theory is not comprehensive and full of ethical implications. Hostos regarded himself as original insofar as he did not ascribe his views to other philosophers.

Hostos had no philosophy of religion but he had, instead, many ideas on the subject. For him religion has an emotional and an intellectual motivation; it is both individual and social. He acknowledged the importance of traditional religions but believed philosophical ones like humanism better. Hostos saw the future of religion in a common, universal form of worship. Hostos spoke not of God but of an unknowable cause of causes; this is a Spencerian conception. The Puerto Rican believed also in the humanism of Comte which he wished to weld with the best of catholicism to form the religion of the future. Hostos exalted religious values and saw the necessity of them; his moral idealism saved him from the materialistic abyss of positivism. His ideas on religion have nothing new nor they reveal deep insight; they are original as long as they are not ascribed to some other thinker.

In aesthetics Hostos held to the Aristotelian theory of the imitation of nature in art. He demanded exact objectivity;

this was his criterion for originality. Art must be true; art must be moral. The artist should be a moralizer. Beauty and truth should serve the good. The aesthetic ideas of Hostos are not inclusive and are overburdened by a moral preoccupation that make them appear in an unfavorable light. His theories of art are not new, and reveal, perhaps, the influence of the pseudo-scientificism of Spencer.

Hostos had no philosophy of history. His conception of history as a science and the idea of history as a process may be due to the influence of Comte, Spencer and Vico. Hostos made no contribution in this field, but his ideas can be taken as original because he did not attribute them to anybody else.

Summarizing it may be said that Hostos was influenced by Comte, Bacon, Spencer, Bain, Vico, Socrates, Confucius and Spanish thinkers of the nineteenth century like Castelar, Pí y Margall and Salmerón. Hostos continued the tradition of Plato, Aristotle and Spencer in his theory of society as a functional organism. He made an important contribution with his doctrine of social pathology to social philosophy. The Hostosian ethics are of Kantian, Stoic breeding. The moral sense of Hostos was everpresent in his conception of reality, religion, art, science and society. In his emphasis in the moral content of law, of religion and art Hostos made a contribution to philosophy but he overstressed the ethical aspect so much as to lose the peculiar

perspective of each realm of intellectual activity thus subserving the complete to the partial. Hostos saw a moral order in nature of which the order of society was an echo. For him the individual and his group were part of a cosmic plan. The purposes of life and of the universe were seen as moral. Hostos did not develop a system of philosophy nor was his thoroughly critical in his ideas. He was a moral idealist and an organic rationalist. His best title is not that of a philosopher but of a thinker of philosophical conceptions.

ABSTRACT

The problem of this thesis consisted in looking for the possible contributions of Eugenio María de Hostos to philosophy and those influences that he acknowledged on the part of other philosophers.

The range of literature in English and in French concerning Hostos is not wide. Prior to the celebration of the centenary in 1939 Francisco García Calderón, Carlos Pereyra and Pedro Henríquez Ureña were the ablest writers of the period. After the centenary there was an increase in the number of articles. Edgar Sheffield Brightman and Pedro de Alba wrote the deepest and more comprehensive appreciations.

Spain and Spanish America in the nineteenth century afforded the historical setting in which the life of Hostos developed. It was an epoch of social, political and intellectual unrest. Hostos saw the rise of liberalism in the Spanish world and was affected by the outstanding leaders of thought of the times. Kant, Hegel and Krause were the main influences in Spain. In South America Hostos helped to the triumph of positivism over traditional scholasticism.

Eugenio María de Hostos was born in Mayagüez, Puerto Rico on January 11, 1839. After making his first education in the island he went to Spain. Soon he intervened actively in the political struggles of the period. He abandoned his studies to devote his

life to the defense of the rights of Puerto Rico and Cuba. As a propagandist he visited and lived in Paris, New York, Venezuela, Perú and Chile. He published works of high literary merit. He taught in Chile and Santo Domingo. He became a great intellectual leader of Spanish America. He died while General Director of the Normal Schools of Santo Domingo on August 11, 1903.

Among the philosophers who influenced Hostos the foremost in Auguste Comte who determined the Hostosian philosophical position in almost everyone of its aspects. Next to Comte, Sir Francis Bacon influenced deeply the thought of Hostos with his discovery of the experimental method and with his new ideas on logic. In a third position is Herbert Spencer whom Hostos recognized as "the master." Hostos adopted and defended the Spencerian evolutionist theory against its enemies. Alexander Bain is the father of the ideas on logic set forth by Hostos in his Tratado de Lógica. The ideas of Hostos on history were inspired primarily by Giambattista Vico's La Scienza Nuova. Other philosophers whose influence is minor on Hostos are: Socrates and Confucius who helped to mould the Hostosian ethical theory, such Spanish political leaders as Sanz del Río, Giner de los Ríos, Pí y Margall and Emilio Castelar in the field of social and economic problems.

Hostos had no system of philosophy but he held systematic ideas on many subjects. His social philosophy is characterised by his conception of society as a living organism which obeys

laws and has purposes similar to those of the universe. Each organ of society is limited by the principle which rules its function. A law expresses a function and this fulfills a purpose. The ends of society are moral, religious and artistic. Social order is attained through the equilibrium of liberty and law. Hostos followed the Platonic, Aristotelian tradition in his social philosophy. Montesquieu, Rousseau and Locke influenced his political liberalism.

The Hostosian moral theory insists on the relations of the individual to himself, nature and society. The moral life is based on reason of which conscience is the highest organ. Man has duties towards nature, himself and society. Moral responsibility confer dignity to man. The basis of personality is conscience. Reason should control the will. The moral order is individual, social and universal. The Hostosian ethics has points of contact with Kantian formalism and stoicism.

In logic Hostos made no important contribution but rather followed Alexander Bain. The place of logic in the thought of Hostos is, nevertheless, basic. The Puerto Rican had no systematic philosophy of education. Education is a function of the state that fulfills the law of progress in society. Its aims are the development of reason and deeper insight into the nature of values, especially moral. Hostos was more of a teacher than of a philosopher of education. In his philosophy of law(never systematically

expounded)Hostos stressed the fact that law and right are rooted in the moral conscience and reason of the individual. Law has a social as well as an individual aspect that should never clash; it is fundamentally moral in its character. Hostos had no philosophy of religion, yet he believed religion to have an emotional and intellectual cause. He recognized the role of traditional religions but dreamed of a future, universal form of worship in which all religious expressions should merge. Religious values Hostos deemed important for the progress of man. In aesthetics as well as in philosophy of law or philosophy of religion Hostos did not exhibit great originality. He held to the imitative theory of art and to a moralistic position in which aesthetic values would be instrumental in the realization of moral values. Hostos made no contribution in the field of philosophy of history where his ideas were mainly inspired by Vico.

In a few words we may summarize by saying that Hostos was influenced by Comte, Bacon, Spencer, Bain, Vico, Socrates and Confucius, and such Spanish thinkers as Sanz del Río, Castelar, Pí y Margall, etc. Hostos continued the tradition of Plato, Aristotle, in his theory of society as an organism. Hostos made a contribution with his doctrine of social pathology. The Hostosian ethics is Kantian and Stoic in spirit. By stressing the moral aspect in law, religion and art Hostos called attention to an important fact but he overemphasized it. Hostos saw a moral order

always present in the individual, society and nature. He had not systematic philosophy and lacked self-criticism. He was an organic rationalist and a moral idealist. The trend of his thought is philosophical yet he is not a thoroughgoing philosopher.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Akers, Charles Edmond.--HSA
A History of South America(3rd.ed.).
New York: E. P. Dutton and Company Inc.,(1904).

Alba, Pedro de.--Art.(1940)
"Eugenio María de Hostos and His Ideas of Social Morality."
The Lima Resolution, The Essay on Hamlet and Other Papers, 12(1940), 17-31.

Anonymous.--Art.(1925)
"Hegeliana(Escuela)."
Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada, 27(1925), 921-922.

Anonymous.--Art.(1926)
"Kantismo."
Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada, 28(1926), 3337-3340.

Anonymous.--Art.(1926)
"Krausismo."
Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada, 28(1926), 3524-3525.

Anonymous.--Art.(1927)
"Sanz del Río, Julián."
Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada, 54(1927), 440-443.

Anonymous.--Art.(1920)
"Spanish Criticism of South American Literature."
Review of Reviews, 61,(June 1920), 661.

Anonymous.--Art.(1905)
"Tratado de Sociología."
The Outlook, 81(Sept. 23, 1905), 235.

Brandt, Joseph A.--TNS
Toward the New Spain.
Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1933.

Brightman, Edgar Sheffield.--Art.(1940)
"Eugenio María de Hostos: Philosopher of Personality."
The Lima Resolution, The Essay on Hamlet, and Other Papers,12(1940), 10-12.

Centenario, Comisión Pro Celebración del(ed.).--AH
América y Hostos
Habana: Cultural, S. A., 1939.

Bibliography(cont.)

Chapman, Charles E.--HS
A History of Spain.
New York: The Macmillan Company, 1918.

_____.--HCR
A History of the Cuban Republic.
New York: The Macmillan Company, 1927.

Coester, Alfred.--LFSA
The Literary History of Spanish America.
New York: The Macmillan Company, 1916.

De los Ríos, Fernando.--Art.(1927)
"La Filosofía en España."
Proceedings of the Sixth International Congress of Philosophy,(ed. by Edgar Sheffield Brightman), 658-661.

Elliot, G.F. Scott.--CHI
Chile.
London: T. Fisker Unwin, 1913.

Fránquiz, José A.--Art.(1940)
"Hostos, Eugenio María: Obras Completas. 20 volúmenes."
Philosophic Abstracts, 2(1940), 35-36.

García Calderón.--DLA
Les démocraties latines del'Amérique.
Paris: Ernest Flammarion, éditeur, 1912.

_____.--PI
Profesores de Idealismo.
París: Librería Paul Ollendorf, [1909].

Hostos, Eugenio María de.--ESS
Essais(tr. Max Daireaux).
Paris: Institut International de Coopération Intellectuelle, n. d.

_____.--OC
Obras Completas. 20 vols.
Habana: Cultural, S. A., 1939.

Inman, Samuel Guy.--PPA
Problems in Pan Americanism.
New York: George H. Doran Company, 1921.

Bibliography(cont.)

Kelsey, Carl.--Art.(1922)
"The American Intervention in Haiti and the Dominican Republic."
Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,100(March, 1922), 109-202.

Levene, Ricardo.--HA
A History of Argentina(tr. and ed. William Spence Robertson).
Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1937.

Magdaleno, Mauricio.--Art.(1940)
"Hostos, A Milestone in the Life of America."
The Lima Resolution, The Essay on Hamlet, and Other Papers,12(1940), 31-34.

Marín, Muna Lee de Muñoz.--Art.(1940)
"Eugenio María de Hostos: His International Significance as an Educator."
The Lima Resolution, The Essay on Hamlet, and Other Papers, 12(1940), 4-10.

Pereyra, Carlos.--Art.(1932)
"Eugenio María de Hostos(1839-1903)."
Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, 7(1932), 472.

Schoenrich, Otto.--SDC
Santo Domingo, A Country with a Future.
New York: The Macmillan Company, 1918.

Shepard, Isable Sharpe.--Art.(1925)
"Eugenio María de Hostos."
Pan American Union Bulletin, 59(1925), 565-568.

Wilgus, Curtis A., editor.--CA
The Caribbean Area.
Washington, D.C.: The George Washington University Press, 1934.

Williams, Mary Wilhelmine.--PTL
The People and Politics of Latin America.
Boston: Ginn and Company, 1930.